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CONFERENCE

Between two Souldiers Meeting on
the Roade, the one being of
the Army in

ENGLAND,

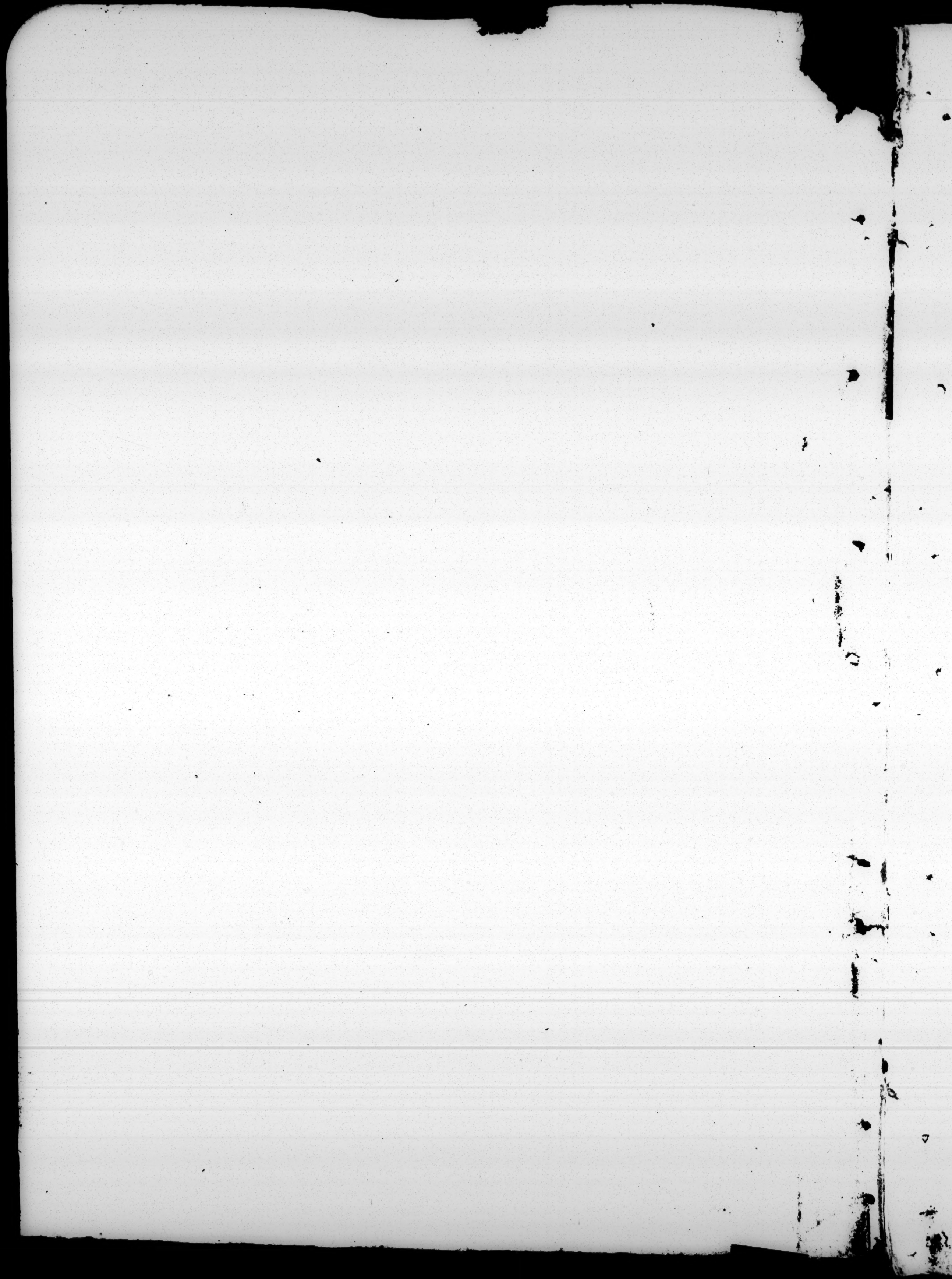
The other of the Army in

SCOTLAND.

*As the one was comming from London,
the other from Edinbrough.*

The first Part.

November, 1659.



*A Conference between two Souldiers Meeting on the
Roade, the one being of the Army in England,
the other of the Army in Scotland.*

England. **W**ell met fellow-souldier, whence doe you come?
Scotland. *I come from Scotland.*

Engl. What News from thence? we heare you are beginning a new Warr.

Scotl. No, no, what we doe is in pursuance of our good Old Cause, to stand up for the Parliament, which we heare you have forceably interrupted, and turned out.

Engl. I pray you let us step aside, and a little reason together: What is that good Old Cause so much spoken of? Were you a Souldier at the first beginning of the warr, and can remember what was then Declared as the cause of our taking up Armes?

Scotl. Yes, and then I went out for the preservation and defence of the true Protestant Religion, the Kings Person, the Priviledges of Parliament, and the Laws and Liberties of the subject.

Engl. Let us passe by that of the Protestant Religion, which was soon after left out of our Commissions; for we needed not fight for a Religion, but that we might enjoy Liberty to exercise our Religion. How did you pursue the Cause? Did you, who are now the Army in Scotland, consent to the taking away the Life of the King, whom you were to defend, who by the Laws of the Land was our Chief Ruler?

Scotl. Yes; for when upon better information we found. That Kings were made for the people, and not the people for Kings: That men are freeborn into the World, and not any mans slaves; that no man ought to have a Native and Hereditary Right over others. But that the power under God is originally in the people, and to be derived from thence, and that all trusts are conditional;

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We

We believed that the King was as well bound to defend his people, as his people were to be subject to him; and that if he failed of the one, they were discharged of the other, els the King might destroy them at his pleasure; and finding that the King had betrayed his trust, and endeavoured the ruine of his people; we took our selves not onely bound to defend our selves against him; but also so call him to an account as guilty of the highest crimes for destroying the end of his trust, making his power an advantage to our ruine.

Engl. Then you were of our mind, That the safety of the People, is the supreme Law; and therefore you consented to take away the King. What did you for the Priviledges of Parliament? Doe you not remember, That there was an Act of Parliament, to which the King consented, as well as both Houses, That the Parliament, nor either House, should not be dissolved without their own consents, or an Act of Parliament to be passed for that purpose? Did you not also consent to the taking away of the House of Lords, which was one of the Houses of Parliament?

Scotl. *When we found that the House of Lords, as well as the King, exercised an Authority by Prerogative over the people, without their consent and deputation; it was seen fit to lay them aside also, as inconsistent with the peoples Liberties.*

Engl. Was not this the highest breach of Parliament Priviledges, not onely to interrupt, but wholly to dissolve one of the Houses of Parliament, and that not for one Session onely, but for ever? And I pray you, when Kings and Lords were taken away, which were two essentiall parts of the Parliament; was not the Parliament then dissolved, he being dead by whose Writs they were called, which gave them the being of a Parliament, and could live no longer then himselfe?

Scotl. *No, for the House of Commons could not be dissolved, without their own consent, and an Act to be passed for that purpose.*

Engl. How could they be a Parliament, which could doe no Act of a Parliament? Or how could they be dissolved by an Act, when no act of Parliament could be passed for it? they had taken away the Lords, who were to advise, and the King who was to consent.

Scotl.

Scotl. Its very true, and therefore they presently changed the Government, and Declared themselves to be a Parliament, without King, or House of Lords.

Engl. Did they not thereby dissolve themselves, and cast off their former power? And then, from whom did they derive their new Authority? the People onely chose them to goe up, and to consider and advise of the great things of the Nation with the King and Lords, and not to take all the power to themselves, both the Legislative and Executive, to doe what they list, and as long as they pleased, making the former Act of Parliament (which had no such intention) a colour for it. But since you are so much for the House of Commons; whether, I pray, did you consent to the turning out so many Members at severall times?

Scotl. Yes for we found that the honest party of the House, who were for carrying on the good Old Cause; were over-voted by a Major Party, and we were forced to it, or els our Cause had been lost.

Engl. And were not those most high breaches of the Privileges of that House? And how could the remaining party be called, a free Parliament? The People chose the whole Number, and gave them power; and after you had turned out whom you pleased, should the People be bound by the rest? were they the Peoples, or not rather your Parliament? But doe ye remember, when those we called the honest Party, came from the House to the Army, and brought their Speaker with them, and left the rest who over-voted them? Did not you own the lesser Party, and forthwith goe to London, and turn out the other? I pray, by what Law was it done? and whether, if either party could be called a Parliament, the lesser, or the greater? And whether did you not in 1653. consent to, or afterwards approve the turning out the remainder of the whole House?

Scotl. I must confesse we did so, and were still forced to it, for carrying on that Cause which we were called unto; and tooke our selves bound in Conscience to prosecute, for the defence of the Peoples Liberties.

Engl. Well, It seems you grant, that for the Liberty of the
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People,

People, you consented, in stead of defending, to destroy the Kings Person; in stead of preserving Parliament Priviledges, wholly to take away the House of Lords; and over and over, to interrupt and turn out the Members of the lower House; and at last to end the sitting of the whole. And I pray you, Have not divers Elections been since made by the People, which (by an Act made by the King, Lords, and Commons, they had power to doe) make voyd, and supercede all former Authority derived from them, if any was in being,

Scotl. I am not fit to iudge of these things: But I conceive they were a Parliament at last, till 1653. or a new Election: But I dare not consent that they were dissolved any sooner, for many dangerous consequences would follow, and all Laws since made, might be rendered invalid, to the losse of the whole Nation, and many particular Persons.

Engl. They did not in this last Convention, so well consider, who at one breath, as I may say, by an Act thrice Read and Passed in one day, made voyd whatsoever had been done from 1653, to 1659. without considering the weight and concernment thereof, to the manifold damage, not onely of thousands of particular Persons, but to the hazard of the Peace of the three Nations, rendering the union of Scotland and this Nation invalid, and opening a way for the Irish to return upon the English, and turn them out of their Habitations in Ireland, and thousands of other mischiefs, which was one great reason, necessitating the Army to put an end to their sitting. But should I tell you, that they were dissolved in 1648. it would neither reproach them, nor diminish that power which they exercised in carrying on the work with us, nor injure the Rights of the people: And should I also say, that all things done since the end of their former sitting in 1653. that are pursuant to the ends of our Cause, are by as good Authority; there will be no contradiction to those Principles, which ye have walked by, and must own as well as we. as the warrant of our proceedings, which will justifie us in the sight of God, and in our own Consciences, and in due time unto men,

Scotl. I confesse it was rashly done to passe such an Act:

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But I pray goe on, and tell me what other ground, or necessity you had to dissolve them now, for that is the great thing which dissatisfies us, and which we cannot beare.

Engl. Though it might seem a strange thing to you, yet we cannot but wonder, that you who had joyned formerly in the like Acts of necessity with us; nay, we may say, in much higher; and knew the integrity of many thousands of your fellow-souldiers in *England*, and their desires after Justice, Righteousnesse, and true Freedom, should so hastily Publish a *Declaration*, and not rather first send some honest and understanding men to us, to be informed of the Grounds and Reasons of our Proceedings, and should still persist and pursue your *Declaration*, to the hazard of the Peace, and raising a new War in these Nations, which may make way for a third Party to divide the spoyle, and lose the Fruit of all our Travells. But to satisfie you further of our Grounds; We that were upon the place, and neer them, found by dayly experience, a heady Faction growing in the House, who having a designe to engrosse all power into their own hands, to make themselves absolute; & not onely to give what Laws they would to the people; but to settle what Government they list, and to perpetuate themselves during their pleasure, (who were but a very few of those that are interessed in the management and successe of the same Cause, and ought to share with them, and be as well satisfied in the settlement to be made;) First, contrived to bring the Army to their will, by causing them to take Commissions from their Speaker; and then (by raising another Force) made way to supplant them; that so, as any person should in the least crosse their designe, or shew a dislike to any thing they did, they might, with a Vote of the House be layd aside, upon the least Information of any Member, without Hearing or Tryall, though the matter was false; which having carryed on, they presently began to shew their further purpose; reproved, and gave a checque to the sober and modest Petitions of the Army; a Priviledge, that the meanest, and fewest of the people claime. And without prooffe, or hearing, pickes nine or ten of the Chief Assertors
of

of our Liberties out of the Army, and layes them aside; and intended further to have proceeded with more, as is too evident. All which more fully appears by the *Armies Plea*, and *Declaration*; to which I refer you.

Scotl. But I pray you. How can it be lawfull for the servant to rise up against his Master? Did not you lately restore them to the power, and acknowledge them, and take Commissions at their Barr, and receive their Pay?

Engl. That they were Masters, and we their servants, does not appear by our restoring them to the power, but rather the contrary; and that we might as well take it from them, as give it to them, when they abused it. And as for our owning them to be a Power, and receiving Commissions and Pay from them; they had borne part with us in the heat of the day, had counselled, advised, and acted with us, as interessed in the same Cause; and we were willing, as they were the remaining portions that held out to the end of that *Civill Authority* which God had blessed with us in carrying on the work, to take them along with us; and as being a more popular way, then any single person, and more sutable, then merely the Power of the Sword, and that which would give better content to the people, till such an equall and just frame of Government could be settled, as might fully answer the ends of our Warr, and so great an expence of Blood and Treasure. Yet give us leave to tell you, We were no more servants then they; we received Pay, as being allowed to us, that went a warfare for the people. They also had Pay, provided by Law proportionable to their Expences. Are the Souldiers servants to their Officers, because from their hands they receive their Pay? Are the Officers servants to the Parliament, because they are payd by their Order, not out of their own, but the peoples purses? And are not the Members of Parliament as well servants to the people, who have allowances provided for them? Yea rather, are not both the Parliament and Army servants to the People, to preserve and defend them, and their just Rights and Freedoms? If therefore both Parliament and Army, shall joyn to destroy the people; May they not both withhold their Pay,

Pay, and defend themselves against them, if they can; and the like against either.

Scotl. I doe not well understand this, for the Parliament is the Body of the People; and they Called, and Commissioned the Army, and payd them; and therefore the Army are servants to the Parliament.

Engl. That the Parliament was the Body of the people, we deny not; and when it came to passe that a difference fell between the King and them; they called to the people, (in effect thus;) We are your Trustees, your Deputies, you sent us hither to preserve and maintain your Rights; the King hath highly violated many of them, and still persisteth, and by force will compell us to yeild to him. Therefore come and assist us, and stand up for your selves in your lawfull defence, and for your liberties. The people chearfully to prosecute those ends, came, and took up the Sword, managed the War, with the advice of their Representative Body, not as servants to the Parliament; but as those that entrusted them, that were bound to defend them, while they pursued the ends of their preservation and safety: Not as Servants, or Mercenary men, for Wages, (for the Parliament neither had it, nor did give it, but out of the peoples purses;) but as Free-men of England, for their own liberties, unto whom God hath given the Victory; who now stand not bound in Duty and Conscience to any assembly of men, no more then formerly to the King, to be commanded to doe their wills: But as Members of the English Nation, to pursue the just ends of their undertaking, for recovery and preservation of their liberties, as well against any Parliament that shall violate their Rights, as against King and Lords, and no more to yeild themselves slaves to any new Power or Government, then they did to the old.

Scotl. I am not willing to say any thing against former proceedings, because we had our hands therein, as well as you; but this, both you and we may pleade for our selves, necessity forced us to it: But we cannot see any necessity for this rash undertaking.

Engl. Doe you not remember how often the Army hath
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Promised, Covenanted, Remonstrated, and Engaged, yea, over and over again, to endeavour a through Reformation, and such a settled provision and security for preservation of the Rights and Liberties of the people, as Men, and as Christians, as should not be liable to future violation? If they should sayle of this, were they not most perfidious unto God, and treacherous to the people? And when they found the Parliament neglecting their duty; and on the contrary, beginning to lay aside the chiefest worthies of the *Army*, who had hearts most enlarged, and integrity most unspotted and were every way best fitted, not onely for the conduct of the *Army*, but for carrying on the good ends of the Warr; should the Souldier sit still, and hold their peace, and suffer such to be set over them, of whom they had little, or no experience, whose Principles were known inconsistent with Christian Freedom, whose interest or abilities, were not able to withstand the common Enemy; but on the contrary, gave them new encouragement, and fresh hopes.

Scotl. We cannot easily beleieve those things, that the Parliament could have any such designs, for they have still carried on the Work with us.

Engl. Doe you not remember, after the King was delivered into our hands, what tampering was made, what endeavours used for patching up a peace with him, and how long was it, and with what difficulty obtained, to have Votes passed for no more Addresses? Was not the *Army* forced to Petition from all places and quarters, to have Him and other Delinquents brought to Justice? (when they found by his seclusion from all evill Counsellors (on whom, till then, they were still desirous to lay the blame) that he was chiefly guilty.) And afterwards how did they still neglect to pursue their duty, the good ends of the Warr, but as they were even constrained to it? How often were we forced to accuse, and impeach, and turn out their malignant tempers, purge them over and over, and at last turn out the whole? I pray you look back, and tell us, what good *Act* did they, to which they were not forced? How often has the *Army*, and other good people, Petitioned them?

them? and how often were they by them checked, in stead of thanked? Doe but consider how long time they had, between 1648. that they changed the Government, and 1653. that they were dissolved, and how few *Acts* they made, that are pursuant to the change of Government, and of continuing good to the people? Which of our burthens are eased? which of our grievances redressed? does not the whole Land groan under heavy pressures, which in a small part of that time, might have been eased?

Scotl. We are of the same mind with you, that they were bad enough in time past; But, we hope, that just rebuke and shame which they have so long layn under, has made them sensible of former miscarriages, and that they would now double their diligence, and improve their time to the best advantage.

Engl. Our hope of that, was a great inducement to us, to call them together: But we soon found our mistake; for within a very few weeks, they began to fall into sittings, and parties, and the worse got the upper hand. Their time for neer six Moneths, they passed away, almost wholly in settling the Power of the Nation, both Military and Civill, in such hands, as they conceived would be true to them, and their absolute authority, with such artifice, that not any man might speak a word in dislike of their proceedings, but they could turn him out with a word; so that, what they had a mind to doe, the people might take; and what they disliked, neither the Army nor any others might offer nor aske.

Scotl. We conceive, that the Military Power, ought to be subject to the Civill, and this was but to bring the Sword into the peoples own hands.

Engl. We know not why the Civill power ought to be called the peoples hands, more then the Military; we know where the people have found their greatest strength, and we hope the Army is as much Civill, as the Magistrate: and we confesse, the ends of our war being answered, and secured; both Swords belong to the people. But had the Body of the People of *England* the Sword in their own hands; you, as well

as we, know how soon they would destroy both you, and us, and themselves. And for this Assembly, neither to settle a Government, with sufficient caution and security for the enjoyment of our Liberties, our dear bought purchase, nor to Declare at what they aimed in order thereunto; but rashly to subject all honest men, and honest interest of the Nation, to the wisdom, will, and pleasure of that House, and those that should succeed them; argues either a very bad designe, or gross inadvertency, not to be readily suffered; and had we yeilded to that prevayling party, we may well suppose the honest interest of the Nation had been layd very low in a short time.

Scotl. But we heare, the chiefe difference began about Generall Officers; and we are of the same mind with the Parliament, that there are enough Generall Officers; for we have found how dangerous it is to have men in such great power, they may make themselves Kings or Protectors, or what they please.

Engl. If the Parliament was against Generall Officers, why did they in one day make seven; the Army desired but three or foure, to render their Conduct more intire and regular, and with such subordinations as became the severall Trusts; having found by dear bought experience, That there is no safety, but in order and discipline: And they were such persons, as the Army knew, and had tryed, and durst follow in the greatest hazards, such as the Parliament themselves, as best deserving, employed in the highest Trusts with the Army; and of whose fidelity, they had been sufficiently assured. And you had no reason to be offended at it, for your Generall was one, so great esteem had the Army of him. But we may well suppose, That had the Army pitched on some persons of the Parliament, they had not been blamed for asking Generall Officers; which clearly appears by those mens carriage, who while they oppose the Army, carry on their own designe, to get themselves named, and then with greediness accept it. But I pray, why does your Generall, and Chief Officers blame us, as having a designe to bring the Armies of Scotland and Ireland, in subjection to the Army of England: and that to nine or ten Persons,

sons, and it may be those to a single One? May we not much rather suspect, that the Parliament, who puts the whole trust of the *Armies* of the three Nations into seven hands, which are lesse then nine or ten, had a more dangerous purpose? Your Generall in *Scotland* they name for one; Lieutenant Generall *Ludlowe* (who was to be in *Ireland*) for another; Colonell *Overton*, who was to be at *Hull*, for a third: Then three of the remaining party, which they had prepared, all of one mind, might doe with Generall *Fleetwood*, what they pleased, and how soon one of those three might out-wit, or over-perswade, if not over-power the other two, let any man judge; and whether the Parliaments way, or *Armies* desire, was more like to set up a single Person? And thus were the *Armies* of the three Nations, which hitherto have been wisely managed by the Generall, with the advice of his *Council* of *Officers*, brought to the will of three persons, (and those such, as the *Army* seldom knew in the Feild, and of whose Spirits and Principles, they knew much, and heard more) either to carry on their designs, or to be turned out at their pleasure.

Scotl. *I confesse now you say very much, and I begin to be sensible of a greater danger then I could before imagine.*

Engl. Nay, my Fellow-souldier, this is not all; But to pursue their designe further, they hastily passe an *Act*. That it should be Treason for any Man, to Receive or Pay any Monies wha soever, for Publique use, without consent of the People in Parliament. If they continue to sit, It appears, they Resolved, not to give the *Army* a Farthing, till they became subject to their wills, and quit their Interest in the Good Cause we have bin ingaged in; but rather to provoke, and encourage the People, to rise up against them. What sad and dangerous consequences might have followed, we may well conceive; but we dare hardly suffer to enter into our thoughts; God of his mercy (to the poor People of *England*, and to rescue their almost lost Liberties) hath, we hope, prevented them.

Scotl. *But surely the Parliament intended onely to bring the power of the Army into the peoples hands, and there to leave it;*

for it could not be out of any self-designe; they passed a Vote not to sit longer then May next.

Engl. Alas, I have you already, to put the Sword into the peoples hands, that is, the Body of the Common people, is at once to make voyd all that ever we have been doing: That the Sword (while it is in the Armyes hand) is in the peoples, that is, the good peoples hand, and for them whom God hath given the Victory and Power unto, we doe plainly Declare: and that we are in their steads, being in Number as many as at present needs, the rest of our Brethren are in other services, and in their Callings, and we are one in interest with them, as also for the good of all, yea, even our Enemies, that in the end of all our Travells, Peace, and Righteousnesse, and Justice, might abound to every one. And as to what you say, *That they passed a Vote to sit no longer then May next*: Doe not you know how easie a thing it is, one Day to Vote, and the next to un-vote? What preparation did they make then to end their sitting? *Was not their great and main Works to settle the Government?* I pray what progresse did they make in that? Had not they spent halfe their time, meerly to secure themselves, and get all power into their own hands, and scarce took notice of the Government? And if you say, *That they had yet time enough for that, five or six Moneths before them*: it seems strange that in five Moneths they can now doe that, which they could not in five Years before. But to settle the Government is not all, the whole Nation is to be brought into compliance with it, and all things to be regulated accordingly; and if they could have settled the Government in the first Moneth, we conceive there had been work enough for them to have done the whole Year after in pursuant thereof, and so those will find, that come to undertake it. But that they intended to spin out the time, and put a necessity upon all, to have them sit longer, further appears, in that they kept the whole Nations of *Scotland and Ireland*, without any Civill Judicature, and all
Officers,

Officers, both Civill and Military in this Nation, almost in their own hands, giving onely very short times both to the Lieutenant Generall of the Army, and also to the Judges, that so all things might either dye with themselves, and leave the three Nations in confusion; or all men might consent of necessity, that they might continue. None were fit for any thing, but themselves; no others worthy to be trusted: How many worthy men stood ready and willing to contribute their assistance, which might have enabled the House to have done more in a Moneth, then themselves alone, by a Parliamentary way, could doe in six? What desires were made, that it might be heard, what honest Men had to offer concerning a Government, the great concern of the Nation, and all People therein; and that a Committee for that purpose might be appointed, that so we might have the advantage of the choycest Lights in the Nation: But, as if they would make, that all Wisedom, as well as Power, was confined within the Walls of that House, they would keep all to themselves. And if they intended (as you say) to sit no longer then *May* next, so much greater is their blame; to subject all to their Successors, of whose regular Election, (notwithstanding all the limitations and qualifications they could provide) we could not be assured, nor of their adherence afterwards, to the Good Cause of these Nations.

Scotl. But alas, now you have dissolved all that had any face of Civill Authority in the Nation; Nothing remains, but the Sword to Rule and Govern, which is a thing we hate as much as the people can doe.

Engl. That which we have dissolved, its true, had the Face, but was no more the Civill Authority of the Nation, then the Sword; for by vertue of that have they Ruled: That there was not both a good Government, and Civill Authority settled, was onely their own fault; and their neglect, was the cause of their first interruption, and our late Innovations, men finding in so many Years, so little Fruit
from

from a Parliament, which made even the name of a Parliament loathsome to all Men. But it seems, while they can Rule with the Sword, its well enough, and a good Civil Authority : But when the Sword cannot fulfill their wills ; then all must be Rebels and Traytors : And all that now they went about (or chiefly) was to get the Sword into their own hands ; but what they would have done after, few know ; onely we may guesse by their former carriage.

Scotl. But I pray, what doe you intend further ? I hope you doe not purpose alwayes to keep up the Sword. When shall we have a Parliament, for that onely will satisfie us, and the people ?

Engl. To Govern by the Sword, is not more hatefull to any, then our selves ; and had the late Assembly gone about the Framing and setting such a Government, as might have answered the ends of our late warrs and troubles, they had taken a wiser course to have engaged both Army and People to them. And as for the Calling of a Parliament ; so soon as a Forme of Government is agreed, upon such Principles and Fundamentall Constitutions, as may fully secure our dear bought Liberties ; you will heare, that the Calling of a Parliament will be the first work.

Scotl. How ! when a Forme of Government is agreed on ; I pray who must agree in that ? Can any doe it but a Parliament ?

Engl. In England heretofore, Parliaments never had it in their power to meddle with, or dispute the Forme of our Government, that was never in question before them ; Kings were alwayes granted to be our Chief Rulers ; and therefore here is the Ground of your mistake : The difference betwixt King and Parliament, was not about the Government ; but the Laws by which we were to be Governed ; which after a Government settled, will be left to Parliaments, as before.

Scotl. Who then must appoint a Government ?

Engl.

Engl. You must consider, That our warr hath not been betwixt the people of a whole Nation (wherein all were of one mind) and a Forreigner; but a Civill Warr amongst our selves, one party against another, and a third party looking on. And finding in the pursuite of that just Cause of Liberty which was begun, That the very Forme of Government was as well burthensome, as the Ruling Person and his Prerogative; we saw it necessary, to lay aside both together; which though it begat us new Enemies, and was opposed by many; yet, God was pleased to prosper, and give us the Conquest over them. And now, (to tell you the truth, in plain termes) we conceive, that in deciding this Controversie, God hath not onely given power to those that were instruments in carrying on his work amongst us, to secure their own Liberties; but also to see such a new Forme of Government settled, as will fully establish the Rights of all other men, and deliver them from that bondage under which they have long layne, both as to the inner and outward man; from which God hath now rescued them with a strong hand, as he did our Fathers of old from *Egyptian* slavery. And we conceive it is not onely the right, but the duty of all those whom God hath kept stedfast, to carry on this work; not onely to see a Forme of Government settled in roome of that which is cast down; But such a Forme as will in the Principles and Fundamentall Constitutions thereof, fully settle and secure our Liberties, as Men and Christians, the summe of that good Cause in which we have been so long engaged. And that they ought not to give up the power which God hath given unto them, unto the common newrall and disaffected spirit of the Nation, to Judge of, and determine what hath been the quarrell, and what shall satisfie and be the price of so much Blood and Treasure; which is the onely cause, why we dislike a Free Parliament, that is, a Parliament chosen by the body of the people, Newters and Enemies, as well as Friends,

Scotl.

Scotl. Truly we feare a Free Parliament, that is, a Parliament chosen by the whole Body of the People, as well as you; and herein we are in a strait. We are satisfied, That a Parliament is the best Government; and yet a Free Parliament will destroy us, and that chiefly makes us call for the old Parliament, which of necessity, even for selfe security, we conceived would adhere to our Cause.

Engl. As to the old Parliament, I have said enough; and if you will have more, I pray what Jurisdiction had they over Ireland and Scotland, those by whom they were not chosen, was it by the peoples consent, or our Conquest? I hint this, to shew you how much they have walked by our Principles, which they would now condemne; and have they not still owned us in all things we did, till 1653. and justifie us in turning out all others, till it came to their own turne, that did as justly deserve it. And as for Parliaments, viz. Representatives, Trustees, or Deputies of the People, we are cleare with you, That all power being in the people, their Delegated power ought to be Supreme; yet, consider their Trust, is still conditionall, and therefore liable to the same question, and punishment, as Kings, or others: and we are as much for Parliaments, as you can be after a Government settled. And seeing our former Government is dissolved. (I meane Monarchy,) we look upon the good people of England, as standing with the Sword in their hands (which is their highest State of Sovereignty, including in it all lower Magisteriall Offices) not subjected to the Rules of any Forme of Civill Government; but what themselves (orderly Assembled for that purpose) shall think fit to make; which being once agreed, and settled; We doe Professe and Declare our free and ready subjection thereunto; and either to returne to our particular Vocations (if there can be found sufficient intrinsecall strength and vigour in any such frame of settlement, (our condition considered) as to support it selfe against visible opposition) or to be servants to the people to secure the same against all violators whatsoever.

Scotl.

Scotl. But what? Can you set limits to a Parliament? how can you restrain their absolute power? that will take away their Freedom, and Privilege.

Engl. After many sharpe contests between our Ancestors, and the Kings of England; our Ancestors at last got a Grant of their Liberties, which were settled in a Charter, as Fundamentall Constitutions, not to be altered; and all Laws afterwards to be made contrary or repugnant thereunto, were to be voyd, which was yearly to be Read in Publique Courts of Judicature, and a solemne Curse to be pronounced against those that broke it, which was of force till the late Change of Government, and yet was never taken as an abridgement of Parliamentary Power, or restraint of their Liberties; but was rather esteemed the great Bulwarks of the peoples Freedomes, which neither Kings nor Parliaments could alter. And therefore, (upon this new Conquest over Monarchy) we beleeve, it is the duty of those to whom God hath given the Victory, to see such Fundamentall Constitutions settled, as are consonant to the Law of God, and Principles of Justice and Righteousnesse, and that just Freedom, both as to the inward and outward man, which belongs to every man, as a Member of the Creation of God, (the great work that God hath been doing amongst us, and will carry on, and bring to passe in the whole Earth) and to see the same so fortified and secured, with provision against all kinds of violation, that the people may be no more put to make a new purchase of it.

Scotl. Though you should come to a settlement that may have much good in it, I cannot see how you can secure it; the next Parliament will claime an absolute power, and will goe neer to alter it, if it be but even to shew their Authority.

Engl. If such a spirit shall be in the Parliament, as to alter good things settled: How much further off would they be to lay such a Foundation? and therefore such expedi-

ents must be used, as will prevent that mischief, and yet leave the Parliament Free, which must be provided for in the Forme of Government.

Scotl. I pray what Government doe you intend to set up ? and seeing you clayme the right of Forming a Government : what must others expect from you.

Engl. We, that is to say, the Army onely, doe not clayme any such right. But we, that is to say, the Body of the good people, adherents to this Cause in all the severall Nations, who continue still faithfull thereunto, (whereof we are a part, and in our Brethrens stead, left to defend both them, and our selves, in prosecution of the work, till it be finished) doe make this clayme ; not that we desire to have the Government in our hands ; not that we desire the Sword should Rule ; not that we desire to abridge any other man of his Liberty ; or that he should be a slave, much lesse a subject to us. But we being called together, in defence of those just rights in common, which belong to us, and every man in particular ; and having obtained successe to our just Cause, We cannot, we dare not, (lest not onely the ruine of our selves, but also of our posterities ; and not onely so, but the whole Nations, whom God hath given it into our powers to preserve, as well as our selves, should be layd to our charge) part asunder, nor suffer our selves to be divided, till our Liberties, and the Liberties of all men, be secured.

Scotl. But still you will be Judges your selves.

Engl. Our own innocency and integrity, is that which justifies us in the sight of God, from whom we have our strength, who hath judged for us. And it is not reasonable, that we should stand at the Judgement Seat of our Enemies, nor of those who have not known our Cause, nor put their hands to carry it on. Had all the people of England with one consent, taken part with us, there had been no such difference, as to persons or interests. But you know, the greater part of the Nation were against us ; and if they might be Judges, you, as well as we, understand what would be

be the issue, though in our principles, their Liberties, as well as our own, will be secured.

Scotl. I pray you tell me what those Principles are.

Engl. I may say in short, all our Principles are summed up in one, founded upon that just and righteous Rule, wherein is fulfilled the whole Law and the Prophets; As you would have men doe unto you, even so doe ye unto them: which includes in it the perfect Freedom, of Conscience, of Person, and of Estate, and which we onely waite and long to see established.

Scotl. If that be your Principle, I hope we shall never differ; for we doe with as much earnestnesse as your selves, long to see such a Government, and Laws settled, as stand upon that Foundation: And if we shall confesse, that the late Assembly was no Parliament, but that their authority is perfectly determined, that you had good Reason and Right to end their sitting, and ought to proceed to pursue the ends of the great cause of just Liberty. It will not at all prejudice the rights of the people; and I beleieve that generally the people would be as little satisfied as your selves, to have that Assembly rule over them. But yet these things seem strange and contrary to our ancient Laws and Government; and now we know not where, nor how to come to a settlement.

Engl. If you look upon the Parliament, and their proceedings, or on the Army, and theirs, you will find, that in our whole course, there was seldome any such agreement, which the Rule of former Laws and Constitutions of Government that the actions of either could be clearly and fully justified thereby any longer then the Law of Success and Conquest did uphold them; and the inward warrant of Justice, and Righteousnesse did encourage them in such their actings. Neither could it be otherwise; those Laws that were made for the support of our former Government, being as contrary to Principles of just Freedom, as the Governours or Government it selfe.

Scotl. But I hope you will not thence inferr, that there-
fore

fore you may breake and make voyd all other our good Laws at your pleasure.

Engl. All Laws that are just and equall, will be found to spring from the Root of all power, the Law of God, which is the Foundation of all Laws that are just; and as they are consonant thereunto, they will agree with that Principle which we own and hold forth, and desire to be found in. And we shall be sorry if any shall accuse us of the violation of any such Laws; we hope they cannot.

Scotl. Truly for our parts many of us (we can say it) we would not fight in a personall quarrell, not for the best of Persons, neither for Members of a Parliament, nor for the Officers of the Army; but for the good Cause of justice, freedom and Righteousnesse, in which we have been engaged; that onely will God blesse, who respects no mans Person, that worke onely will be carry on, and therein (I am convinced by your Discourse,) is the power and true Authority; and all who are found standing in it, will need no other warrant. And now Fellow-souldier, I must take my leave. being glad of this happy Meeting, and shall change my purpose of going any further Southward; and shall returne immediately to my Brethren in Scotland, who I hope will be much satisfied to heare of these things. Onely I would faine have spoken a little with you about the Government you intend to settle. But in a few dayes, (if you will promise to meet me) I hope to returne, and have a better opportunity. Till then, I bid you Farewell. And so shaking Hands, they parted.

The end of the first Part.
